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Shaw and the Actors

New Republic

The Accomplishment of Mendes-France

A DISPATCH FROM PARIS

BALDWIN-WALLACE COLLEGE
BEREA, OHIO

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T. R. B.

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Washington Wire

One strong word from Eisenhower, one positive act of Executive support, would have ended any doubt of passing the Flanders' motion censuring McCarthy. No word came. It is the whole story of the change in Washington that nobody now really expects a White House action which in Truman's day would have been taken for granted. Ike is the man who deleted praise of his friend George Marshall from his campaign speech in Milwaukee to placate McCarthy. Herblock's cartoon, "High Noon in Washington," (see page 3) is the story of the Knowland-Eisenhower respectables in Washington. Are they against "McCarthyism"? Why, sure; they preach against it every Sunday! Will they take a sheriff's badge? Dear me, no; it might divide the party.

McCarthy's position has been weakened. Nobody expects much from the official subcommittee report on the 36-day Army-McCarthy inquiry, but you can see the effects. People had a chance to look at the man and size him up. A shamefaced sense of decency is asserting itself. McCarthy has lost momentum, is on the defensive here and there, must give ground on the issue of his committee staff, finds himself unexpectedly attacked. Scripps-Howard writer Frederick Woltman, who used to whoop it up for McCarthy, now has a series that sounds like something written by TRB anytime this past five years. Well-a-day. If anything TRB says becomes fashionable, he can always move into another field; there are plenty of them.

Dulles made his dramatic hop to Paris last week simply because the Geneva decisions were so big America could not afford to abstain. To have abstained would have killed the Grand Alliance. The USA almost made war in Indo-China, then at the last minute reversed itself here, too. The USA for eight years participated in the French-Communist war and at the end was paying over half the cost in equipment furnished. To have refused to acknowledge its participation with France and Britain because of defeat would have made further co-operation impossible. So Dulles made his trip. He is insulating himself from Senate wrath by leaving Deputy Bedell Smith to handle final negotiations at Geneva. It is hard to think of a diplomatic meeting more significant than this since the 1815 Congress in Vienna. And off stage now a faint mechanical ticking is heard.

The Atomic Energy Modernization Act is perhaps the most important measure to come before the 83rd Congress. Unfortunately it tries to combine three separate matters into a kind of uncouth artificial legislative Siamese Triplets. Each of these matters, however, is momentous. First, it would help Ike to push that international-pool-of-fission-able-material idea of his—the idea that electrified the UN in December. Second, it would permit swapping some atomic secrets with Britain and other allies. And third, in quite a different field, it would try to establish ground rules for the entrance of private capital into the government's monopoly of atomic power.

Eisenhower constantly puzzles us. If he really believed in that high-sounding proposal of his for a global pool of atomic materials which he gave to the UN, how in the world could he now include the magnificent idea in a bill in which he also plays petty politics against TVA? The international aspect of the pending bill has been almost obscured by the domestic aspects: a cold, deadly attack on public power. With full use of Eisenhower's name the powerful utility lobby is trying to undercut TVA. Ike arbitrarily ordered the independent Atomic Energy Commission to give a power contract to a rival of TVA (the Dixon-Yates group) which would receive the contract without competitive bidding and operate tax-free. We just can't believe this incredible maneuver will succeed.

But the pending atomic energy modernization bill goes further. Nearly everybody agrees it is time for private capital to step into this field. But the pending bill would let them grab it entirely. Here is an example of the new philosophy. For a generation or so every law setting up a big federal dam has given priority in receiving its tax-supported power to publicly owned utilities and to farm co-operatives. Under the pending AEC bill nuclear fuel would still be owned by the government. But there is no provision to give priority to co-ops or publicly owned facilities in licensing the use of such power. The safeguards also seem weak against creating monopolistic pools of patents. The giveaway here could make the offshore oil grab look like peanuts.

Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D, Minn.) has exchanged salvos with the *New York Times* over the farm bill. The *Times* denounced the Senator's proposal for adding oats, barley, rye and soybeans to the government's already impossible burden of supporting prices of five other basic crops. We sympathize with the *Times*. But Humphrey promptly, and accurately, wrote back that Ike at Kasson, Minn., September 6, 1952, in his election drive, declared that "crops such as oats, barley, rye and soybeans should be given the same protection as available to the major cash crops." We sympathize with Humphrey! Put in another way, Ike is now following what we regard as a sensible attempt to reduce the government's toppling burden of farm-price support: the opposite of what millions of farmers thought he had pledged in campaign speeches. It is ironical that the GOP will probably lose most votes this fall on a policy for which Ike deserves praise—if only he hadn't spoken in 1952. The same cloud hangs over Ike's campaign utterances on TVA, too.

Notes: GOP fall election chances seem somewhat less gloomy; a good deal of Ike's legislative program is going through, and the downward movement of business has stopped . . . Rep. Wayne Hays (D, Ohio) almost alone ended the preposterous "anti-subversive" investigation of tax-free foundations by GOP leader Reece of Tenn. Hays laughed it out of existence.

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Noteworthy This Week

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

While You Weren't Looking

Budget Cuts. The Administration's latest request for nearly $2 billion in supplemental appropriations has been butchered—cut 39 percent by the House Appropriations Committee, the most drastic budget-cut in recent years. And it is interesting to see where the cuts were made.

$35 million was requested for hospital construction. Every penny of it was denied. Yet the shortage of hospital space is critical and the states are crying for help.

$60 million was requested for Civil Defense. More than one-half—$35 million—was cut. Ninety-two of our cities are listed as "primary targets." Russia has the hydrogen bomb—and new, more powerful planes to carry it. Recent tests revealed that enough such planes would get through our defenses to cause incredible casualties *unless our civil defense force could accomplish near-miracles.*

$43 million was requested for grants to states for unemployment compensation and employment services. This request was cut by $38.4 million—with unemployment presently totalling more than 5 percent of the entire civilian population.

Debt Limit. Treasury Secretary George Humphrey often has spoken of his distaste for "gimmicks." One of his claims to the title "Honest George" is the manner in which he requested a hike in the $275 billion national debt limit during the final days of last year's Congressional session. It was not a popular request, but he made it anyway. The House approved it; the Senate Finance Committee did not.

This year, everyone has been waiting for the request to be made again. Chances were that it would pass. But Humphrey must have developed election jitters, or listened to someone who has. He chose a gimmick, one of the oldest and most discredited gimmicks in the armory of book-juggling. Humphrey is reported to have suggested to Senate Finance Committee members that instead of raising the debt limit they authorize him to remove from the national debt tally some *$15 billion* worth of tax anticipation notes—money borrowed against March 15 revenue. Indications are that the Senators don't like the idea at all—so Humphrey may have to get "honest" again and request that increase. But time is running out.

The New Unity

DEMOCRATIC leaders have tossed away what might have been one strong issue for the fall campaign. In this election year of high unemployment, 14 Southern Democrats—led by Minority Leader Lyndon Johnson (Texas) and Minority Whip Earle Clements (Ky.)—lined up with 42 Republicans to kill an amendment to the Reed Unemployment Compensation Bill offered by Sen. John F. Kennedy (D, Mass.), which would have established national standards for the amount and duration of unemployment benefits. Kennedy's proposal was aimed at improving the lot of the unemployed in states which lag far behind the average in compensation. President Eisenhower had previously recommended that the states voluntarily set the same standards. Kennedy pointed out that 19 state legislatures had met since the President made his recommendation and not one had done as he had requested.

But his Southern colleagues were deaf to Kennedy's arguments. The much-heralded party unity under Johnson as Minority Leader did not extend to domestic economic issues of special interest to labor any more than it had in the days of open cleavage between Northern and Southern Democrats under Harry Truman.

Standard of Living

WHEN it took power the Republican Administration gave the impression that it really believed campaign claims that prosperity under Democrats was wholly explained by war, that now there *had* to be a slump, during which we would all get used to having a little less, after which things would roll along nicely. As late as February of this year, Treasury Secretary George Humphrey said "I do not believe we have to set new records every year . . . over a period of 10 or 15 or 20 years *we are just bound* to move ahead (italics ours)."

That kind of talk got more and more unpopular as election time neared and unemployment reach new highs. A great

High noon in Washington

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many people heard the other side of the story: that when you have 700,000 new workers entering the economy each year, you have to set new records even to keep the general standard of living where it is.

So Administration officials began to talk differently. Of course they would do something, but not yet, and in the meantime it would not do at all to "talk the economy into a recession." Treasury officials began pointing to this or that "bright spot." Last week, Gabriel Hauge, economic brain truster to Eisenhower, announced that the recession had been "beaten . . . the retreat from July, 1953, has been stopped . . . the economy is catching its breath for new advance."

How long a pause for breath? The Administration does not expect business to "adjust to peace" for years. It hopes for a short term "fall pick-up," based on Christmas inventory-building and farm harvests, to help it through the election. But it fully expects a new slide early next year.

Settlement in the Suez

AFTER a break of more than a year, Britain has at last resumed official negotiations with Egypt for evacuating the military base in the Suez Canal Zone. At present it looks as though agreement may be reached quite quickly, with immense benefits to Britain's diplomatic, military and economic strength.

The Suez base is an area of more than a thousand square miles covered with dumps of stores, roads, railways and airfields. In the event of war, it could supply an army on the spot, cutting down by weeks the time it would take to put forces in the Middle East. But Britain's tenure of the base depends on a treaty with Egypt which expires in 1956 and which Egypt has already denounced. For while the treaty forbids Britain to keep more than 10,000 troops there, she has exceeded this limit ever since the war. Indeed, when the Persian trouble developed in 1951, the British troops in Suez rose suddenly to 80,000, all of whom are still required to protect the scattered dumps from pilfering which the Egyptian Government does not discourage.

Ernest Bevin tried hard to get a new agreement with Egypt as soon as the war was over. But it was impossible to deal with the corrupt demagogues in power under Farouk. When the young officers took over under Nasser and Naguib, Eden grasped the opportunity. By last autumn only two issues blocked the way. Britain agreed to withdraw all her fighting troops from Suez, but insisted that the 4,000 British technicians left behind to service the installations should wear uniform. Egypt agreed that Britain should be allowed to return in force to the base if any Arab country was threatened by aggression, but would not concede Britain's demand that a threat to Turkey should also justify return.

Most observers believe that these issues in themselves could soon be resolved. But meanwhile in Britain a powerful revolt gathered strength inside the Conservative Party, not without at least moral approval from the Prime Minister himself. So negotiations hung fire until Egyptian exasperation produced incidents grave enough to permit the rupture of the talks. The Tory rebels were an odd mixture of elderly ambition and youthful ideology, but they had no alternative to offer. In the months which have passed since their victory the practical argument for a negotiated settlement has come to seem irresistible to all but the most hopeless extremists.

First of all there is the political fact that in modern conditions Britain cannot and should not hope to maintain privileges in foreign territory by force. A New Deal with the Arabs is no less necessary than was the New Deal with the Indians. This argument perhaps held little appeal for men like Churchill. But the military arguments are not less decisive. So long as Egypt remains hostile, the base can only be kept in being by the presence of some 80,000 British soldiers, thus destroying the possibility of any mobile strategic move. Conditions in the base are a major deterrent to army recruitment, and the vast number of soldiers required helps to keep the proportion of national service men too high for efficiency in the regular army itself. Finally atomic weapons in any case make such a concentration of manpower and material undesirable. So if the Suez base could be handed over to the Egyptians, this would relieve the financial burdens of the Exchequer, or provide a mobile reserve, or make possible a reduction in the length of national service, or a combination of all three. Moreover, while the talks lagged, Dictator Franco in Spain pressed his campaign for dominance in the Arab world, and threatened to undermine the British bargaining position by contracting to supply Egypt with $3.5 million worth of small arms.

So there is general welcome for the news that negotiations have been officially resumed, especially since news had leaked out that unofficial contacts have removed the two previous obstacles to agreement.

Everything now depends on domestic politics in London—and Cairo.

London DENIS HEALEY, M.P.

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"One of Our Islands Is Missing"

THE United Nations Trusteeship Council has begun to discuss a petition by the people of the Marshall Islands which says in effect, "One of our islands is missing." The effects of bombs exploded on the atolls of Bikini and Eniwetok are detailed: "lowering of blood count, burns, nausea and the falling off of hair from the head." "Land," . . . the petition continues . . . "means a great deal to the Marshallese. It means more than just a place where you can plant your food crops and build houses; or a place where you can bury your dead. It is the very life of the people. Take away their land and their spirits go also."

The Marshallese spell out a tale of contaminated water and food supply, displaced residents of islands and atolls taken for military use or made uninhabitable by radioactivity, and the "miscalculations" about the power of the last bomb. All this is the reason why they turned to the United Nations, to which, the United States, as trustee for the Pacific Islands, is responsible.

The curious thing is that the Marshallese did not come to the United Nations because the US would not listen to them. The contrary is true. Public statements of United States leaders admit and regret the damage. Medical attention and financial help is offered. Douglas Heine, a Marshallese who signed the petition and is now answering questions put to him by the delegates of all countries, was brought to United Nations by the United States —is in fact acting as part of the United States delegation. He speaks freely and convincingly.

The United States is warmly sympathetic, but the Marshallese want something more: they want the United States to stop the tests.

But the United States has said there would be more tests. It defends its right to prove atomic weapons in the Marshall Islands on legal grounds—on the terms of the trusteeship agreement entered into with United Nations. India, however, has challenged this legal premise. Krishna Menon, India's chief delegate, declared: "Once a thing has been placed in trust, the right to destroy it does not exist."

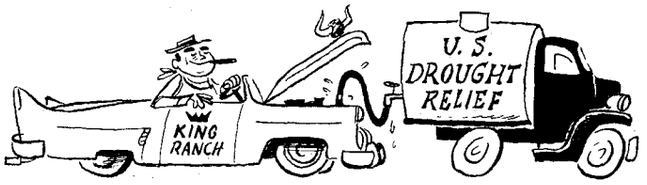
The people of the Marshall Islands call attention to provisions in the trusteeship agreement by which the US acknowledges responsibility "to safeguard the life, liberty and general well-being of the people in the trust territory, of which the Marshallese people are a part." Concerning US failure to honor these provisions, Krishna Menon was indignant on moral as well as legal grounds. He said, "You cannot advance people politically if you annihilate them. You cannot advance them economically if you destroy their resources. You cannot educate them if you bomb them." "No one," he said, "can say the interests of the inhabitants can be advanced by their extinction." The administering power, he said, has not the right to harm the people who are its charges even if the entire world benefited.

The fact that the world—at least the non-Communist world—benefits is the core of the US position. Mason Sears, United States delegate, told India that the Marshall tests were part of his country's program for the protection of the free world, including India. Menon retorted, "India will take care of itself."

India is a big country and probably can. The Marshall Islanders cannot—which adds poignancy to their own request that United Nations see to it that all tests cease. But they go on to ask—in language at once quaint and hopeless —that precautionary methods should be taken "if the experiments with said weapons should be judged necessary for the eventual well-being of all the people of this world and cannot be stopped or changed to other areas."

India discards the alternative. In her resolution she calls for banning all tests until the International Court at the Hague decides the issue of legality. And to make certain that the world understands that this is the opening gun in a long fight, Menon stated that India was putting its views on record with the idea that a debate might occur.

As indeed it might and it will—blossoming into a struggle involving most of the people of the world. The US will defend its right to test bombs. The Soviet Union will assail the right of the US to make tests in the Marshall Islands, using the issue as a counter in the Cold War—but never saying a single word about its own continued tests behind the Iron Curtain. And the other nations—those not now armed with atomic weapons nor ever likely to be more than targets—will press for an end to all tests, not only in the Marshall Islands but everywhere.



Times Is Hard All Over

AS A MEMBER of the Senate Agriculture and Forestry Committee, John J. Williams (R, Del.) was instrumental in getting a badly needed emergency drought-relief bill through the Senate last fall. The idea was to help the farmers and cattlemen threatened with ruin. A few days ago, Senator Williams seemed dismayed as he told the Senate that the fabulously wealthy King Ranch of Texas now appeared on the government relief rolls.

Seems that after hearing some disquieting rumors about how drought-relief funds had been passed out, Williams queried the Department of Agriculture about King Ranch specifically. Answering, the Department said that yes, the King Ranch had been given $32,585 worth of relief *because the county drought committees in the King Ranch area had approved.* The letter did not specify what these counties could possibly contain beside King Ranch acres—one million or so. Although he shares the general Republican concern for "local control," and the "sanctity of capital," Williams spoke rather bitterly of "shocking misuse" and "poor millionaires."

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The Accomplishment of Mendes-France

by Frank Gorrell

AS WE GO TO PRESS, the latest report from Geneva is that a truce will be signed before the Tuesday, July 20, deadline French Premier Mendes-France set himself when he assumed office.

REGARDLESS of Geneva, Pierre Mendès-France has succeeded in Paris. He has already won for himself a personal situation unparalleled in postwar France, and with it a fighting chance to lead his country.

Here in Paris, in the last hours of what may turn out to be the most fateful month for France and the West since the start of the Korean War—if not since the start of the Cold War itself, there can be little doubt that Mendès-France has not only given his country the leadership it had long awaited. He has become a man who is first in the hearts as well as in the minds of a great majority of his countrymen; of a people hard to convince because they had hardened in indifference, cynicism or bitterness; of a people who had seemed beyond the reach of unifying leadership because they had lost the capacity for faith and enthusiasm, for hope and the willingness to take risks on which their anciently ardent national patriotism had always been based.

One proof of the great change that has taken place is that legends and myths have already begun to be created about and around Mendès-France. For example, there is the story that he is the illegitimate son of Georges Clemenceau.

Few notions could be more fantastic of course than that a Jewish intellectual, an economist whose whole career has been dominated by thought, and of the most measured and reasoned kind, might really be—secretly and mysteriously—of the same stock as a man of passionate feeling, a nationalist, a warrior whose relentless and stubborn singleness of violent purposivity made him known as "the Tiger." Yet nothing better than such a synthetic, irrational coupling of Mendès-France with one of the authentic heroes of a past in which France still felt herself strong, great and respected can suggest the quality of the wave of popular enthusiasm which the Premier has created.

THERE have been other striking indications of how the people feel about him. One was visible and audible in Paris on Bastille Day, the national holiday. The Premier took time off from his minute-counted schedule of tireless work to attend with all the members of his cabinet the traditional military parade along the Champs-Elysees from the Etoile to the Concorde. It was six days before the deadline he had set for "liberating" the French army—and the whole French people—from the long blood-letting in Asia. At the moment when he arrived at the reviewing stand—situated, by the way, facing the statue of Clemenceau in front of the Petit Palais—he had just finished his talks with Secretary Dulles in a manner which, for most Frenchmen, spelled diplomatic victory for France.

The ovation the crowd gave Mendès-France was fit for a conquering general—and Parisian crowds are notoriously cool to men in political office. The Premier stole the show from President Coty and a flock of other dignitaries, military and civilian; but he shared it with the men in uniform marching by. The celebration was moreover the biggest, the warmest, the best attended since the end of the war; and for this the hope and confidence the Premier has inspired were certainly partly responsible.

Secretary Dulles was reported to have found—to his surprise and frankly expressed pleasure—that the man he had been warned against as a neutralist was in fact in the main stream of patriotic French nationalism, lucid, honest, brainy and above all, with guts. The French people had already reached the same conclusion. They had decided that the gamble Mendès-France took wasn't a stunt, an empty grandstand play. Perhaps the source of the legend linking him with the Tiger was the fact that he had literally been fighting for peace. Nor were the preparations to continue the war in Indo-China if Geneva failed a politician's trick. They were real.

Mendes-France

Practically the whole French press—excepting of course, the Communist newspapers—praised the Premier for getting Dulles to send General Bedell Smith to Geneva. The feeling was, as the *London Times* put it, that he had confounded his enemies "by showing that he can maintain Western solidarity, in particular the

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alliance with the United States, while defending and pursuing the ineluctable French interests." Optimism was gaining ground steadily at that stage among the French though all the main points remained to be decided at Geneva: where the dividing line would be established in the Viet-Nam and at what date and how the elections would be held; how the commission to supervise the armistice would be made up and with what powers; the fate of Laos and Cambodia; and the nature of US participation—if any—in the final arrangements.

Mendès-France, it is felt here, would have had a hard enough task if he needed only to deal with the Viet-Nam. But both with France's enemies and with France's friends, he has had to operate on fronts within fronts. Geneva has been the most important conference since the start of the Cold War if only because it was the first at which statesmen of the West joined in a formal, full-dress meeting with the statesmen of Red China. But Mendès-France has had to jockey between and around the Viet-Minh, Red China and Soviet Russia. Like Anthony Eden, he has had also to consider the great missing Asian powers, Japan, India and the others of the Colombo meeting.

In addition, the French—and most Western Europeans—were quite aware that winning Dulles' good will, while important, was far from enough to keep the Western alliance solid. There were the Republican leaders in Congress who, as the *Manchester Guardian* commented bitterly, "have almost closed the door on intelligent policies either in Europe or in Asia." There was above all Senator Knowland: "With the kind of ideas which Mr. Knowland represents there can be no possibility of compromise from the British or European side."

Yet, for Mendès-France, working against time, and applying to an international conference the pace and intensity of a less than four-minute mile race, there had to be compromise. For US opinion, as well as French opinion, has eventually to approve. And in the US the issue of Red China's admission to the United Nations had been distorted—out of all resemblance to the practical, immediate, real facts—into the specter at the feast.

Granting that Peking must not be allowed to shoot its way into the UN, the threat of the US slamming the door to the UN removed all the West's power of maneuver at Geneva until the formula of "the new and real Western alliance" was found—the idea that the US might tolerate, accept, permit a compromise in Indo-China without fully underwriting it. This has been called the doctrine of equal but separate roles in the alliance. By it—if it works—the US can go along part of the way without departing from the principles set forth by the Eisenhower Administration. Also by it, France which (it should not be forgotten) is also to some degree—and certainly in the minds of Frenchmen —a "formerly sovereign" nation has the chance to face the facts in freedom and dignity and with the sovereignty due to an equal. There is middle ground between the co-existence with the Communist world, which so many Americans (and not only in the Senate) seem to abhor and distrust as basically unthinkable and the crusade which an overwhelming large number of Western Europeans simply will not undertake.

THROUGHOUT the negotiations, especially during this last week when the French papers were publishing on their first pages box-scores of the meeting this last week when the French newspapers were publishing on their first pages box-scores of the meetings of the statesmen at Geneva in the manner of round-by-round accounts of prize fights, Mendès-France maintained his calm, his serenity, his good humor, his confidence. Even his worst enemies—not the Communists but the MRP, the French Popular Republicans of Schuman and Bidault, who grew harsher and uglier in their attitude as the man who had "robbed" them of their right to make France's foreign policy grew more and more popular—could not justly accuse him of having made a mistake.

He spoke English very well to Eden, to Dulles, to many of the Asians; but French was the language he still spoke best. He was able to prove to Dulles that the EDC situation was quite different from the one reported to Washington; it was untrue that the treaty, if presented now and in its present form, would be adopted by the National Assembly; on the other hand, if he, Mendès-France, were allowed to handle the matter in his own manner, there was a chance, even a good chance, of getting—and relatively soon—the adoption of a treaty—the EDC or a very reasonable facsimile —that would go a long way toward satisfying not only Washington but also Bonn.

In this context, however, it is not Knowland's Washington that can be satisfied. If a cease-fire in Indo-China is achieved, it will be the task of President Eisenhower and his Secretary of State to make plain to the American people what has happened in France, to France, and through Mendès-France. Of course, there will have been a loss to the free world in Indo-China; but short of direct US intervention on the ground or of the threat of world war, that much couldn't be saved. On the other hand, there have been gains: among them the fact that France has found herself, and in that self, the free world has found an ally in whom greater trust and dependence can be placed.

For the settlement would not (to borrow the language Dulles used on his return from Paris to Washington) prejudice the basic principles to which France must adhere if she is to be true to herself, and if the captive and endangered peoples of the world are to feel that liberty can be worked for and earned at less than the price of an annihilatory war.

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Eisenhower Says:

"Let's Run on the Record"

WHICH RECORD?

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER: Unless the Republican Party can enact the kind of program I want "it will not deserve to remain in power." (Dec. 2, 1953.) My "dynamic, progressive legislative program will stand or fall at the polls this November." (June 2, 1954.)

VICE PRESIDENT NIXON: "The Acheson policy is directly responsible for the loss of China . . . the war in Korea and . . . war in Indo-China today. The Democratic Party . . . is the helpless captive of two types of men—one without principle, the other frantically dedicated, but both welded by a common determination to socialize basic American institutions." (June 26, 1954.)

THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE: "There is three or four more years of mileage in Acheson." (June 29, 1954.)

SENATOR McCARTHY: "The raw, harsh fact is that Communism is an issue and will be an issue in 1954." (Nov. 25, 1953.)

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE: "We can elect more candidates if we use McCarthy." (June 27, 1954.)

by Tom Fitzsimmons

AUTUMN is approaching—and the elections. There is a great desire among the nation's lawmakers to finish with the business of making laws and get back home where a man's career can be made or ruined. Four hundred thirty-five Representatives will fight for their office this year, along with 37 Senators. Among them, Republicans are feeling the pressure most. They have been in power for two years now, after a long, long absence. They have got to tell the voter what they have done and convince him that on the whole he likes it—or they have to get him to thinking about something else. The nominal leader of the party, President Eisenhower, has told Congressmen often that they must run on his Administration's record, must make it good enough to run on. But the "old pros" and the young tyros have been preparing the "something else" and are telling them: "The record, sure, but first the slogans—20 Years of Treason, Communists in Government, Sell-out in Asia—and you can't miss." The candidates will choose.

The President has made proposals in 11 major legislative areas. As of July 15—with two weeks to go—he had won Congressional approval of three important measures: Social Security, the St. Lawrence Seaway, and Foreign Aid. Three of his "urgent" requests had been rejected outright: Taft-Hartley revision; Hawaii Statehood, and Reciprocal Trade. On Reciprocal Trade, Eisenhower has tried to claim, if not a victory, at least "no defeat." But when, after agreeing to a one-year delay for "study," an Administration proposes the results of that study—three-year extension and increased tariff-lowering powers—as the "minimum" it will accept, then is forced to abandon that "minimum" and take a simple one-year extension, it has been defeated.

The fate of five other Eisenhower proposals still is in doubt: Tax Law revision, Atomic Energy Law revision, Farm Supports revision, Housing, and Anti-Subversive "Security" legislation.

Taxes. The Administration's omnibus tax bill passed the House substantially as the President wanted it. And in the Senate, anti-Administration efforts to give relief to the individual taxpayer and to reduce the 25 percent tax write-off allowed oil magnates were defeated. But the Administration's provisions giving preferential treatment to stockholders were struck from the bill. Some of these, however, will be restored in conference and Eisenhower can count this one as a victory.

Atomic Energy. The President asked for legislation to modernize the original McMahon Act of 1946, specifically to permit (a) greater international atomic co-operation and exchange of information, and (b) greater participation by private industry under conditions of free competition. The Cole-Hickenlooper Amendment which resulted claims to, but does not implement the President's proposal for international co-operation on A-power, nor permit appreciably freer exchange of military atomic information with our allies. Section 123 presents so many obstacles to co-operation that our allies will get more atomic data from Russia than from us. The bill very nearly *did* provide for a private monopoly

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in A-power instead of the free competition spur requested by Eisenhower. But Rep. Chet Holifield (D, Calif.) of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy finally persuaded a majority of the committee to agree on a limited form of licensing—patent-sharing—during the first five years of private development. Both Rep. Sterling Cole (R, N.Y.) and Sen. Bourke B. Hickenlooper (R, Iowa), however, have indicated they will fight this change on the floor. When and if the bill is passed, the Administration probably will try to count it as a victory. It is not. As it stands, the bill does not do what the President requested and any changes likely to be made will make it worse, not better.

Agriculture. The heart of Eisenhower's new farm program is a switch from the principal of rigid price supports for basic commodities to that of flexible supports. The Administration called on the House to pass an omnibus bill establishing a sliding scale of supports ranging from 75 to 90 percent of parity for basic crops. By accepting a compromise—a sliding scale ranging from 82.5 to 90 percent of parity—it was able to get its bill passed. Not a "great sweeping victory," as President Eisenhower claimed, it was a victory because the House did accept the change in principle. The Senate Agriculture Committee, however, has reported, 13-2, a bill extending rigid 90 percent of parity supports for one more year. The Chairman, George Aiken (R, Vt.), has promised to lead a fight on the floor against this and other features objectionable to the Administration. "Unless we can work out a bill acceptable to the President," said Aiken, "there will be no farm legislation." No new farm legislation would mean that the 1948-49 bill providing a 75 to 90 percent flexible system would atuomatically go into effect in January. So the odds on this one favor the Administration. The bipartisan Senate farm bloc—led by Republican Milton R. Young (N.D.) and Democrats Allen J. Ellender (La.) and Richard B. Russell (Ga.)—seems determined to fight hard, and as a last resort they might be able to put rigid, high supports back into the bill at the conference. But that would send the bill back to both houses for another vote. So unless Republicans panic at the thought of losing a substantial part of the farm vote and abandon the flexibility principle—they are afraid of going as low as the 75-percent minimum in the 1948-49 law—a compromise giving the Administration a victory on this basic issue seems assured.

Housing. The basic Administration request was for authorization to build 35,000 low-cost dwellings a year for four years. The House voted down this basic provision, and amended an appropriation bill to prohibit any public housing in the future. The Senate passed the bill as the President wanted. The House-Senate conference compromise is: delay the prohibition against future housing for *one year only*, during which up to 35,000 units can be built, *but only for families actually displaced by a slum clearance project.* The Administration lost.

"Security." The Administration's anti-subversive program consists of a whole series of proposals. Basic are a bill to admit at the Attorney General's discretion wiretaps as evidence in subversion cases; one permitting Congressional committees to grant immunity from prosecution and so deprive witnesses of the right to invoke the Fifth Amendment; and another for authority to strip convicted Communist conspirators of citizenship. Other laws in this package would allow the government to ban suspected subversives from defense plants and to dissolve any labor union, business firm or any other organization upon finding that it was "Communist infiltrated."

These last two proposals seem definitely out. Both the CIO and the AFL opposed them, urging instead that a "commission on security in industry" be appointed to determine if the problem required legislation, and if so what kind. A House Judiciary subcommittee has reversed its previous approval of the measures to back the union substitute. The Senate probably will not even consider them.

The wiretap bill has had hard going. The House passed the Brownell measure, but with a provision—unacceptable to the Administration—requiring a Federal

IKE'S MAJOR BILLS: WHERE THEY STAND

Bills	Reported In House	Passed House	Reported In Senate	Passed Senate	Enacted
Hawaii Statehood	3/3/53	3/10/53	1/27/54	4/1/54	
Debt Limit Increase	7/31/53	7/31/53			
St. Lawrence Seaway	2/19/53	5/6/54	6/16/53	1/20/54	5/13/54
Tax Revision	3/9/54	3/18/54	6/18/54	7/2/54	*
Housing Program	3/28/54	4/2/54	5/28/54	6/3/54	*
Wiretapping	4/1/54	4/8/54			
Labor Act Changes			4/15/54	5/7/54	**
Social Security	5/28/54	6/1/54			
Reciprocal Trade	6/10/54	6/11/54	6/16/54	6/24/54	7/1/54
Mutual Security	6/25/54	6/30/54	7/13/54		
Farm Program	6/26/54	7/2/54			
Atomic Energy Revision	7/12/54		6/30/54		

* In Conference ** Recommitted

Source: *Congressional Quarterly*

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THE GOP SENATE CANDIDATES: HOW MUCH SUPPORT FOR IKE?

A tabulation by Congressional Quarterly of voting records in the second session of the 83rd Congress shows the following percentages of support and opposition for Eisenhower's proposals by Senators up for re-election.

	Candidates	Active Ike Support	Active Ike Opposition
CALIF.	Kuchel	61%	19%
DEL.	Warburton	87%	7%
IDAHO	Dworshak	77%	23%
IOWA	Martin	47%	7%
KANSAS	Schoeppel	71%	26%
KY.	Cooper	71%	19%
MAINE	Smith	77%	23%
MASS.	Saltonstall	74%	19%
MICH.	Ferguson	87%	13%
MONT.	D'Ewart	87%	7%
NEB.	Curtis*	73%	7%
	Hruska	67%	7%
N. H.	Bridges	45%	0%
	Upton	81%	6%
	Cotton	67%	27%
N. J.	Case*	——	——
OHIO	Bender*	67%	0%
ORE.	Cordon	84%	10%
S. D.	Mundt	55%	39%
WYO.	Harrison*	87%	7%

* Member of the House

Court order for each use of wiretap evidence. In the Senate, a Judiciary subcommittee went along with Brownell and left out this limitation, but it substituted others equally obnoxious to him: it limited the admissability of wiretap evidence to five years and provided that it could not be used to re-try on the same charges persons who already had faced trial. The full Judiciary Committee vote on this one will be very close. If the bill ever does get reported to the Senate, there is very little chance of a vote this year—time is running out, opposition on this is strong, debate would be protracted.

The Fifth Amendment waiver passed the Senate last July. The House Judiciary Committee has just got around to considering it. It may be reported, and it may even pass the House in this session. But the House version will almost certainly differ from the Senate's and a conference will be required. So there is little chance that this bill will become law this year.

In effect, unless it puts terrific pressure on Congress during the closing days, it is doubtful that the Administration will have an anti-subversive program to point to in the fall. At this point, the only part of the program which seems to have even a 50-50 chance of passage is the innocuous bill "revoking citizenship" of Communists. This might go through because few legislators have any strong feelings about it—convicted felons can be denied so many rights already that this bill amounts to little more than a requirement that as aliens they must keep their addresses on file with the authorities. Of course, an Administration which has talked so much about the "security problem" is on a hook in this matter and it may through titanic effort salvage other pieces of this program. An Administration defeat, however, seems certain, with only the degree still to be determined.

So Eisenhower's "legislative record" comes out to probably 5 victories and 6 defeats. Not really impressive. Even those Republican candidates who are in a position to gamble their political future on it can hardly be expected to. And how many could?

TWENTY of the Republicans running for the Senate have official voting records either as Senators or Representatives. Twelve of these have given President Eisenhower their support on less than three out of four issues. Of these 12, four have, from the Administration's view, really strong opposing records: Sen. Styles Bridges (N.H.), supported the President's program only 45 percent of the time; Rep. Thomas E. Martin (Iowa), only 47 percent; Sen. Karl Mundt (S.D.), 55 percent; Sen. Thomas H. Kuchel (Calif.), 61.

Looking over the chart on this page, it becomes clear that even if the Eisenhower Administration could offer a splendid legislative record to the voter, only about half of the Republican candidates could present themselves as real Eisenhower supporters and campaign as partners in his achievement. With the record as it is and promises to be, only a very few of these candidates—those in safely Republican states like Maine—would dare depend on the Eisenhower record to elect them. These are the hard facts which have made Vice President Richard Nixon the real political head of the Republican Party. For he and the "old pros" have kept alive an alternative course. While Eisenhower, relegated to the office of "Keeper of our Virtue," speaks in high moral tones of "our splendid, dynamic, progressive program," Nixon, the Republican National Committee, and the Republican Campaign Chairmen of both the Senate and the House have been warming up the techniques so many of their candidates so desperately need. They are afraid of using McCarthy himself right now, but McCarthy has taught them much. And the coming months will see everything McCarthy used, used again. But not his manner. There will be more finesse. The appeal to hysteria will be made in a gentlemanly, or even a frank, boyish manner—with, perhaps, occasionally, the help of a dog.

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Will UHF Mean Better Programs?

Television's New Spectrum

by Walter Goodman

AMERICAN television is about to burst off into the vast upper spectrum and all you'll need to soar along with it, television viewer, is a $30 adapter for your old set. What you find up there, however, promises to differ not a bit from what you've been doting on—or avoiding—down here on earth. This is one fact that has emerged from several turbulent weeks and 200 pages of Senate subcommittee hearings on Ultra High Frequency television. Another fact is that two networks, CBS and NBC, now effectively control the entire TV industry, and a third is that lots of other people want to get into the act but can't for want of space.

The big networks, already prime movers in radio, slipped easily and unostentatiously into television when it was opened to commercial users in 1941. Although permitted to own only five channels apiece, they had no difficulty in dominating the field from its very beginnings. Offering shows written by the highest-paid writers, starring the highest-paid stars, produced by the highest-paid producers, the networks attracted affiliates to themselves like mother ducks gathering in their large broods at feeding time. ABC and DuMont, comparatively small efforts with pretensions, floundered around in the backwash of all this activity, getting nowhere. While the two leaders garnered about $97 million apiece in billings in 1953, ABC reached only $21.1 million, and DuMont didn't even hit the $12.5 million mark.

In 1952, the Federal Communications Commission, somewhat abashed by a situation it had brought on itself with over hasty allocation of channels discovered that the 400 stations in the Very High Frequency range could not provide adequate competition; something new was called for. Thus, channels 14 through 83, constituting the *Ultra* High Frequency band, were brought into play—presumably for the delectation of the millions left unsated by the 12 channels already treating most of America to a delightful day from "Portia Faces Life," to "Wrestling from Hollywood."

Delectation of the millions

But the physician had bestowed a fresh and complicated ailment on the patient without curing the one he was already suffering from, and some painful things began to happen. Enterprising investors, after grabbing up applications for the new ultra high channels, discovered to their consternation that one could not tune in unless he first purchased a substantially priced converter and that not many potential tuners-in waxed enthusiastic over purchasing such a converter. These comelately TV magnates might have anticipated some sales resistance; most viewers, provided for bountifully by the networks, felt no crying need for more stations—hence sponsors remained unconvinced that the innovation merited their nourishing attentions. All of which left the investors alone with their $100,000 ultra lemons. About 74 of them have simply given up in despair, turning back their construction permits or suspending operations. As there are only 127 UHF outlets now operating in the United States, this despairing element constitutes a goodly portion of the community.

Some TV Definitions

VHF—Very High Frequency, the TV channels you can tune in right now.

UHF—Ultra High Frequency, the many more TV channels you can't tune in.

Some TV Statistics

About 31 million sets in the US.

About 2.5 million can receive UHF.

About 85 percent of advertising is handled by CBS and NBC.

About 85 percent of UHF permit holders are on the verge of throwing in their hands.

So we come to the current Senate hearings—at which FCC commissioners, UHF owners, and spokesmen for DuMont, that laggard but ambitious concern, all had their say—with the two major networks and were followed close by the networks and their affiliates, champions of the *status quo*. Nobody in the first group expressed any liking for the existing situation, but the responses to it varied from dissident Commissioner Frieda Hennock's fervent, "I intend to beat this monopoly or resign!" to the local UHFers plea that their VHF competitors be stifled, to DuMont's modest suggestion that what the industry needs is a Big Four (including DuMont) instead of a Big Two.

Three possible FCC courses, or variations on them,

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seem to have remained after all the breast-beating: (a) Do nothing; (b) Fit more TV stations into the present frequencies in an effort to satiate the advertisers' demand; (c) Encourage UHF by discouraging VHF.

1. To retain the system as is would, of course, satisfy the *ins* and drive the *outs* farther out. The consumer would keep what he has and seems to like and not be put to the bother of having to buy another gadget. Local programming and sponsoring would stay about as skimpy as it is. The executives at NBC and CBS could settle a little more securely into their comfortable places, princes gazing upon their domains, while DuMont fell by the hard competitive wayside.

2. The FCC might, in an effort to encourage competition, modify its rules to permit the establishment of more VHF channels. Recently appointed Commissioner Robert E. Lee has already expressed some impatience over reserving channels for educational outlets which haven't been able to find the wherewithal to start operations while eager investors' palms are itching in readiness.

ANOTHER suggestion along this line is to give over to television the place on the dial now taken up by FM radio. As one proponent of the plan wrote to the *New York Times:* "I am intrigued by the proposal that the frequency modulation radio should be recaptured for television use which allows for three more VHF video channels. It sounds so sensible and plausible to me. Very, very few people are interested in FM radio and the public interest would not be injured in the slightest if FM radio were recaptured." The logic behind this proposition is compelling, as the best FM stations now provide those "very, very few people" who listen in with a type of egg-head programming which neither AM radio nor television has ever made, or could under present conditions ever make, an effort to provide.

Assuming, however, that the FCC uses alternative means to add VHF stations in those big city areas where they are merited by the consumer market and to fill the existing chinks in remoter places, this solution would still do little in the way of combating network domination or of removing the economic aches of UHF investors.

3. Here is what the UHF entrepreneurs really want: Block VHF from expanding any further and eventually *move all stations,* along with their faithful fans, *up to UHF.* For then the choice would no longer be *whether* to convert, but how to convert most rapidly so as not to miss a single episode of "I Love Lucy." The simple profit-and-loss roots of the UHF investors' enthusiasm for this idea are evident. But Commissioner Hennock, who is more concerned with breaking the existing duopoly than with seeing to it that investments pay off, has suggested much the same plan to meet what she considers to be an emergency. She would put an immediate freeze on VHF grants and allocations, cut VHF transmitting power, remove the excise tax from UHF receivers, and enable UHF stations to obtain network affiliation, without which they cannot exist. Miss Hennock's approach from principle, so refreshing in the grab-bag atmosphere of the hearings, would give new local outlets a chance to get in their oar and would encourage the medium's growth through dispersed ownership and sponsorship. But would it really deal the *coup de grace* to NBC-CBS control?

It is hard to see how. Much as one may sympathize with Miss Hennock's outcry against today's masters of television, the fact remains—as she acknowledges—that they do satisfy the public, that they have brought to the new medium all the know-how of many years in the popular entertainment field, and that they possess the ready cash to buy the craftsmen to implement this know-

how and the devices to transmit it. These assets promise to be as competition-proof on UHF as on VHF.

But despite their happy prospects the networks are naturally reluctant to surrender the impervious TV position they now occupy. Instead, CBS President Frank Stanton advocates "deintermixture" of the two systems. This would mean reallocating channels so that any given community becomes either all-VHF or all-UHF. By virtue of this contrivance, competitors would continue to be barred from most of the areas where the networks now hold sway and set owners in other areas could be counted upon to demand the same expertly-publicized shows the next county is getting—network shows.

Now no one likes monopoly. But what are the arguments offered by DuMont and by the UHF spokesmen against the two lords of the lower spectrum? They do imply in a general way that US TV fans are being deprived of something under the present set-up, but this is really only an aside. Their deepest sentiment—and they are candid about it—is envy of the big boys and a desperate longing to get into the swim.

Each of DuMont's three proposed solutions is simplicity itself: By the first, the four networks would divide the 100 top markets—New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, *et al.*—in an operation reminiscent of the Congress of Vienna. The second would oblige stations to split their time up among the four on demand, cutting its temporal pie so to speak; and plan C would permit each network to get its hands on one more VHF station for every

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seven UHF stations with which it affiliates—an ingenious way to set about blocking monopoly expansion. All of these are unashamedly designed to consolidate network control of television, with ABC and DuMont being lifted by federal statute into places they have been unable to achieve as competitors. The proposals spring from the good old *laissez faire for me* school of economics.

EXCEPT for the platitudes invariably called forth by some mysterious substance which imbues all Congressional committee hearing rooms, matters of intake and outlay—and the sad disparity between them—constituted the week's testimony. Hardly a word was uttered about *what* is being transmitted over television, be it high or higher spectrum. Some interesting questions were never put: Must we accept the DuMont axiom that more competition means better programs? Will the public interest really be served if DuMont and ABC are assisted in pitching their own big tents inside the TV circus—or will the present giants feel compelled to reduce their already paltry allocation of unusual programs in order to meet the new threat with an ever-popular crooner? Will the movement of the networks from one part of the spectrum to another really benefit anyone besides the hungry UHF investors and advertisers?

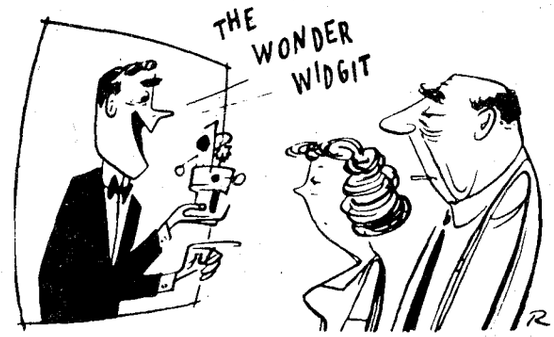
Competition for the sake of competition, like expansion for the sake of expansion, can become a fetish. No one wants to withhold encouragement from small businessmen confronted by the faceless corporation, but even while supporting the change, one may have trouble raising much sympathy for its beneficiaries. The UHF boosters are businessmen first and foremost, a status which promises more shows of the sort that the articulate band of TV-haters has been going to some lengths to avoid. Offering nothing that the *ins* don't offer more of, how are the *outs* to get in? Those investors, and there are some extant, more interested in the quality of the medium than in the return need not worry about competition; they will, unhappily, find little.

The way to control the networks, to prevent monopoly abuse and encourage local initiative is not merely by sharing the gravy; what is needed is close and forthright FCC supervision over the whole field. The recent hearings will have served a worthwhile purpose if they spotlight the fact that television in America is run by two giant corporations. If the disdain-for-the-minority assumptions of the witnesses and their self-seeking are recognized for what they are, the hearings will have performed a valuable educational function as well.

Commercial television probably will move to the higher, wider spaces. Very probably advertisers do feel constrained at present and do think they need 70 channels and 1,300 or more stations to fulfill themselves. If the magnetic tape recorder does for small TV outlets what the electric transcription did for local radio in 1945, the number of stations may be expected to rise very rapidly indeed. But if the proposed move to UHF is made, if VHF is deserted by the commercial stations, let the minority look to its opportunity.

There is a well-known generalization on American culture which has gained currency abroad: Americans devote themselves to quantity production in the arts no less than in the manufacture of automobiles and the retailing operations of five-and-tens. The prime requirement of a book, a play, a movie, a song is that, like a car, it be "popular." Advertising is hired as obstetrician, pediatrician, and general practitioner for the life of this popularity. The success or failure of the particular piece is to be judged not by any complicated critical standards but by a C.P.A. equipped with box office receipts. If this is a simple or false view of America, ignoring too much that is too important, we should understand that it is not false out of malice but because what serious thought and honest creation exists is not reflected in our most voluminously exported, most noisily publicized products.

One can observe in action in American television the philosophy which has worked so profitably for the neighborhood Woolworth. Tell the people what they want, then sell them what they want and sell lots of it inexpensively and don't bother your head over peculiar tastes. For some commodities specialty shops have been created to cater to the peculiar taste; TV has so far been unable to afford many of these.



If the networks, two or four or six, gambol over new big Ultra High Frequency fields, tossing manna with both hands to all hangers-on, why not allot the original 12 channels to local communities, to schools, to a different kind of investor willing to take a chance on a quality audience. The part of the spectrum that the businessmen found so confining may liberate these up-to-now muffled voices. Something like this has been done successfully by FM radio in a number of metropolitan areas; why shouldn't television, unburdened of its heavy commitments to big-time advertisers, give it a try? It may not succeed in many places, but where it does it will be filling an important community and personal need. Then perhaps the neglected minority audience will have something for which to thank the networks.

Walter Goodman has written frequently on British and American television.

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One zealous firm of builders has proved that prefabricated homes need not be architectural horrors

"Rube Goldberg Wouldn't Know It"

by Frederick Gutheim

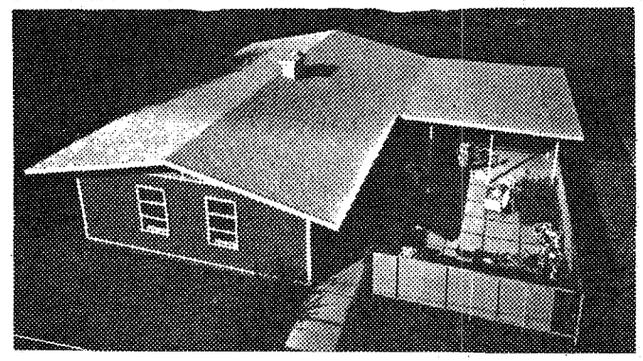
In its early days prefabrication offered a rather tinny view of housing. "Houses like Fords," was the cry back in 1930. Assembly lines were expected to turn them out, ready wrapped in cellophane, and the life they offered was to be efficient, economical and antiseptic. Because this prospect dimmed, the growth of prefabrication has passed without notice. Today it accounts for 60,000 houses a year. But prefabrication's product is not to be distinguished from normal housing. It usually apes the hand-crafted builder's house; it shuns the machine. Today prefabrication increasingly foreswears the trusted Cape Cod models: the one-story, rustic, rambling ranch house has supplanted the fake fisherman's cottage with the center hall plan. Repeated in nauseating multitudes, both are architectural horrors.

In the ruck of prefabricated houses one stands out, that designed by Charles M. Goodman for National Homes, a Lafayette, Indiana, corporation which today produces better than one prefabricated house in every four. This line starts with a $7,000 "Cadet" model that is definitely in the best-buy category, and winds up with a really luxurious air-conditioned three-bedroom "Ranger" model that has both a living room and an enormous "kitchen and family room," and sells on a good lot for $15,950. Both houses, and a number of variations in between, are conspicuous for their good architectural design.

Goodman's is an excellent version of the romantic house created by some of our best modern architects, the sort of dwelling that was developed out of a basic concept originated five decades ago by Frank Lloyd Wright. The open plan, the interior-exterior relationship, the large glass areas, the richly expressed naturalism of its materials—all these are characteristics first developed in far higher priced houses that are now being offered in the lowest price ranges. And it is Goodman's achievement and the distinction of his house that there is no sense of copying, or snobbism, of cheap imitation, but rather an atmosphere of fitness, sincerity and even of originality. In the architectural wasteland of American homebuilding, this is a most unusual achievement.

Before going into some of the details that distinguish these mass-produced houses, a word about prefabrication as a business. Its first decade was strewn with bankrupt corporations which had struggled to live up to the absurd expectations engendered by "houses like Fords." The big event of this period was the development (largely by the US Forest Products Laboratory) of the standardized panel, usually of plywood, allowing walls, floors, roofs to be manufactured in tidy packages ready for assembly on the site. The effort to gain economies through mass-production was the dominant trend of the 1940's, and the handicap assumed by the infant industry was that in responding to the wartime demand for houses built with the minimum of scarce materials, the product became synonymous in the public mind with a cheap substandard house. The postwar housing market, once the initial shortage had been met, proved to have little use for such a dwelling. Distribution difficulties mounted. It was really distribution that killed the more highly mechanized prefabricated houses. As housing became more competitive in the 1950's, the prefabricator and his dealers found they had to give their customers a better quality product, and to sell them a more complete package (lot, house, equipment and financing in a single transaction). How to do this is still a problem for most house manufacturers.

Does the prefabricated house today compete successfully with the conventional house? On the whole, it does. The product compares favorably, dollar for dollar, or item for item. In parts of the country lying within easy shipping distance of the main plants (Ohio, Indiana, Illinois) prefabricated houses frequently hold a definite competitive edge. In Columbus, Ohio, more than 10 percent of all home builders are erecting prefabricated houses. In Ft. Wayne three-quarters of all low- and medium-priced houses are prefabs. In many Midwest cities one-fifth of all moderate-priced houses are prefabricated. The number of areas where prefabricated houses have a margin is slowly expanding. Whether these price bargains on the house itself extend to the total purchase, and whether they offer a good way of life, involves some consideration of what the dealer or the ultimate consumer does with the house, the kind



Frederick Gutheim writes frequently for architectural journals.

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of lot it stands in, and the kind of community it makes.

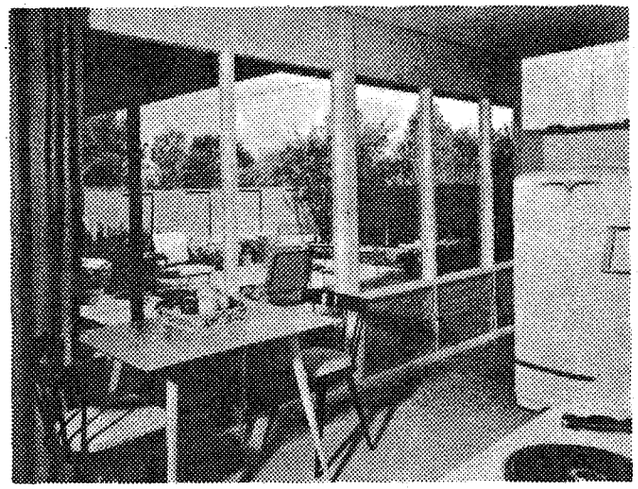
If a word of advice is wanted, it might go: a prefabricated house may be a good bet in your area, but watch where you find it or where you put it.

The interesting thing about the National house designed by Goodman is that it's not much of a specimen of prefabrication. It is a pretty efficiently mechanized version of standard 16-inch stud construction. It is not a highly rationalized assemblage of standardized parts. Rube Goldberg wouldn't know it. It gets its economies chiefly in business ways. National's special advantage is that it has pursued aggressive merchandising policies. It provides far more support for its dealers than other manufacturers who let them shift for themselves. Through its acceptance corporation it helps surmount problems of home financing. If National ever begins seriously to streamline its production, the sky's the limit.

NATIONAL'S position today is fascinating. With design improvements limited so far to better exterior appearance, and better organized floor plans, it is currently expanding its output from 15,000 houses in 1953 to an expected 30,000 houses this year. Goodman's bold designs are being embraced by an enthusiastic public which today seems in advance of the builders. This public has been conditioned to accept modern design by a decade of education in the household and architectural press. National's modern is still limited pretty much to surface changes, but their success has shown that the home buying public is ready to accept far more than had been assumed. In effect, this demonstration allows a far more radical change in the technology of production because the consequences of such changes in design will not encounter sales resistance.

The men back of National Homes are zealots for their product. That goes for the Price brothers who run the business and Goodman, the architect. They have welded a unique dealer group, an organization able to complete their intention, able to realize the potential that was envisioned on the drafting board or in the factory. To finish up the job, the Prices and Goodman tell their dealers, land planning is the heart of the matter. Picture windows don't sell houses when they overlook garages—or look into other picture windows. Monotony of similar houses affects a development, and can be overcome better by sensible choice of rolling sites, and interesting street plans than by jazzy schemes of painting and other arbitrary variations. Initial economies are obtained for dealers by factory-approved layouts involving the least earth-moving, the fewest drainage problems, the greatest savings in street construction and installation of utilities, the best-sized lots. Ultimate stability in residential values and lasting community benefits come from good neighborhood planning.

The design of the house is affected by the same philosophy. The low-priced models offer basic space. Little is wasted on halls, much concentrated in multi-purpose



rooms. National offers a line of supplementary, interchangable structures to expand and vary the basic house. These may be trellises, screens, fences or other elements for privacy or decoration; outside storage structures for baby carriages, bicycles, garden tools or cars; and fresh components are steadily being designed and offered to the buyer. This strategy is designed to individualize the standardized, basic house and sell it as a package rather than to load it down with extras. National is developing its present models into a complete line of houses, and devising new increments that can be added to the basic house in ways that tend to individualize it naturally.

PREFABRICATION is not a cure-all for housing problems, however, and it is difficult to see that it ever will be. The house is not the logical unit of production; the community is. The correct answer to the problem of large-scale production of houses and the design of satisfactory residential neighborhoods will be found not in prefabrication but in comprehensive architectural planning and thoroughgoing job organization. In its approach to this problem National has gone farther than other prefabricated house manufacturers, but it is impossible to bring the realities of mass production wholly into harmony with the needs of community building.

In relation to the unique conditions of any site, prefabrication must always be more arbitrary than the house especially designed for these conditions. This inherent disadvantage can never be wholly overcome. Nor can the perils of monotony be avoided. The series of identical houses confronts us with the indelible consequences of mass production and reveals their conflict with the limitless variety found in family and community needs and characteristics as we see them expressed in older and less artifically contrived cities, towns and neighborhoods.

These criticisms apply equally to the site fabricator and the builder who mass produces several hundred substantially identical houses for erection in the same area. Standardization, monotony, neglect of community design factors—these are limiting conditions accepted by today's builders, and the likely origin of tomorrow's slums.

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BOOKS & COMMENT

The Contours of a Literature

by Irving Howe and Eliezer Greenberg

I

WHEN the first major Yiddish writers appeared toward the end of the nineteenth century, the language did not impose upon them any stylized patterns of expression—which allowed them the advantage of verbal spontaneity and improvization but also imposed the disadvantage of forcing them to create, as it were, the very standards of usage from which they had already been deviating. At its peak, however, Yiddish was neither a folk voice nor a sophisticated "literary" language. It was open at both sides, still responsive to the voice of the folk yet beginning to model itself on literary patterns of the West. The most valuable writing in Yiddish appears at the moment when the two opposing forces, the folk voice and the self-consciously literary, achieve an exquisite, if almost always precarious, balance. To strike an extreme comparison which is not meant to suggest an equation of value between the two literatures: Yiddish found itself for a moment in that position of creative youthfulness which English enjoyed during the Elizabethan Age.

It is almost inevitable that in speaking of Yiddish literature one should refer to an inner dialectic, a tension of counterposed elements: the traditional past and the immediate experience, the religious structure and the secular infiltration, the folk voice and the modern literary accent. But even Yiddish literature itself can be seen and, by its most important critics, has been seen as part of a similar dialectic. The pioneering Yiddish critic, Baal Machshoves, and in our own time Samuel Niger repeatedly employ the formula, "two languages and one literature." Such a view of the relationship between Yiddish and Hebrew is partly motivated, no doubt, by a desire to preserve the historic continuity of the Jewish tradition, and partly by the fact that any empirical study of the formation of Yiddish literature must constantly take into account the Hebrew base and the Hebrew component. "Bilingualism," writes Niger, "became among us an accepted fact, a tradition. . . . " The essence of the Jewish experience, he continues, was reflected in this "partnership between Hebrew and Yiddish," a partnership that is indissoluble no matter who would wish to dissolve it.

The cultural kinship between the two literatures is so profound that almost any well-educated serious writer in the one literature must be affected by and concerned with the other. Ultimately, both literatures draw from and give expression to the same ethos.

But not entirely the same ethos. The theory of "two languages and one literature" is indispensable to an understanding of Yiddish literature; it helps to clarify, for example, how the presence of Hebrew in the background enables Yiddish literature to avoid the painful fate of those literatures of small countries which either become stalled in provinciality or fall into a slavish imitation of the latest vogue from Paris. Yet a too rigorous application of the theory of "two languages and one literature" might soon blur those elements and modes that are unique to the Yiddish. For there *is* something qualitatively unique to the whole cultural aura of Yiddish, something in its characteristic gestures and tones that is summoned by the word *Yiddishkeit*.

One way of making this point, perhaps, is to note that Yiddish literature releases a profound yearning for a return not to the supremacy of Hebrew but to those conditions of life that might make possible the supremacy of Hebrew—that is, a yearning for the end of the dispersion and a reintegration of Jewish life. But during most of the span of Yiddish literature this is a hope impossible to realize; and it is the recognition of its impossibility that gives rise to that distinctive Yiddish note which cannot and should not be assimilated to Hebrew, or any other, culture.

Somewhat along the same lines, the Yiddish critic Borukh Rivkin has advanced the theory that Yiddish literature, more through necessity than choice, came to serve as a substitute for a "would-be territory," thereby taking over the functions of a nation that did not exist. This meant that many of the communal needs which for other peoples were met by the nation had somehow to be satisfied by Yiddish literature. In the historical interim during which the hold of religion had begun to decline and the idea of nationality had not yet reached its full power, Yiddish literature became a central means of collective expression for the east European Jews, fulfilling some of the functions of both religion and the idea of nationality.

In the absence of a free and coherent national life it had to provide the materials for a sense of national identity; and even as, in honesty, it reported the realities of the *shtetl* (the little town in which most East European Jews lived) and the Pale, it had also to nurture and exalt their collective aspirations.

FROM MANY points of view this was an impossible task for any literature, let alone one as frail and youthful as the Yiddish; yet something of the moral seriousness—though little of the metaphysical boldness—we admire in the nineteenth century Russian novel is also to be found in Yiddish literature precisely because the Yiddish writers thought of their work in supra-literary terms. One could not say of Yiddish literature, as the critic Chernyshevsky has said of the Russian, that it "constitutes the sum-total of our intellectual life"; but one can say that the Yiddish writers came before their audience, as did the Russian writers of the nineteenth century, with an instinctive conviction that their purpose was something other than merely to entertain and amuse. The achievements of Russian literature are obviously greater than those of the Yiddish, but both share the assumption that the one subject truly worthy of a serious writer is

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the problem of collective destiny, the fate of a people.

Among the East European Jews, the taste for imaginative literature did not come easily or quickly. They had to struggle for it, and struggle, most of all, against themselves:

> It was natural [writes Rivkin] for Jews to ask, "Why literature?"—after all, literature was a late development among Jews. The world around them had a well-established literature with its own forms. But here was a people living in an unnatural environment, without its own territorial and governmental organs, without its own self-sustaining social and economic structure . . . The pioneer of Yiddish literature was, therefore, confronted with the difficult, almost impossible task of justifying literature to the people and with the not much easier task of creating something equivalent to a natural environment. The first task was fulfilled by Mendele, the second by Sholom Aleichem.

Literature had to be *justified*, it had to be assigned a moral sanction—which is not to say that the Yiddish pioneers, either the writers or the critics, meant that it had to be moralistic. But what, they seemed to be asking themselves, is the distinct use and end of Yiddish literature? How does it take its place in the larger Jewish tradition? The answer they implicitly gave was that Yiddish literature would focus upon one particular experience, the life of dispersion, which in eastern Europe meant primarily the life of the *shtetl;* that it would release, as only imaginative writing can, the deepest yearnings and impulses of that life; and thereby provide a means of both consecrating and transcending the *shtetl.*

Yiddish literature, like any other, has always had its schools, groups and cliques, but there is hardly a Yiddish writer of any significance whose work is not imbued with this fundamental urge to portray Jewish life with the most uncompromising realism and yet to transcend the terms of the portrayal. How could it be otherwise? Simply to survive, simply to face the next morning, Yiddish literature had to cling to the theme of historical idealism. Beyond hope and despair lies the desperate *idea of hope*, and it was this which sustained Yiddish writing.

A literature which, even as it is still reeling from the pain of birth, must assume the formidable task of preserving the national sense of identity and adapting it to the unfamiliar modes of the modern world—such a literature will inevitably turn to language as the only available unifying principle. In another time and under different circumstances language might simply be seen as the familiar, accepted vehicle of cultural realization; but here it becomes, so to speak, the very substance and issue of culture, the living repository of the past and future. The effort to create a Yiddish literature meant the effort to affirm a linguistic patriotism: both are expressions of that urge to national dignity which becomes so passionate in the Jewish world of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

THERE SPRINGS UP at this time the remarkable literary and linguistic movement called Yiddishism. How astonishing it now seems—a movement designed to "defend" a language spoken by millions of people, the very people to whom the writers address themselves with such assurance and warmth; a movement which feels obliged to justify the existence of a flourishing culture at a time when it needs not apologetics but air, space and time.

Yet, from another point of view, the Yiddishist movement is entirely understandable. The Yiddish writer feels only too keenly his problem of being part of a national-religious tradition that goes back into the depths of history, while he writes in a language that has barely been touched by modern literary forms and within a culture that has barely acknowledged the idea of non-religious expression. As a result, he cannot help being self-conscious in his relation to the language; he cannot help proclaiming its virtues while cursing its limitations.

A WRITER in French or English, whether conservative or radical in matters of style and diction, can take his language for granted: it is *there,* he does not think to question its historical stability or expressive capacities.

But for the Yiddish writer of a half century ago things were very different. Writing for an audience hardly prepared to apply sophisticated standards yet only too ready to scrutinize his every word and thought, he had to find everything out for himself. He had to discover, if he could, why Yiddish seemed so naturally to lend itself to intimate speech and so stubbornly to resist more formal address; why it collaborated with the lyric poet so willingly and with the epic so grudgingly; why it took to the picaresque narrative of a Cervantes but not to the psychological webbing of a Henry James; why it frequently reached

BEN SHAHN

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the loving sympathy of a Turgenev but so seldom the metaphysical rhetoric of a Melville. Just as the Yiddish writer had the task of reweaving the fabric of national consciousness, so he had to improvise, to conquer and create, his own language.

Most of the time, this meant an utterly loving, fiercely defensive attitude toward Yiddish. But sometimes it could break out in the kind of comparison the early Yiddish poet Simon Frug made between the language and the assorted scraps of bread in a beggar's sack—or break out in Frug's even more bitter remark that Yiddish is a patchwork so curious that it would prevent the Jews from entering heaven: the angel at the gate wouldn't understand it. In his long poem "Monish," I. L. Peretz wrote with a blend of affection, irony and exasperation:

Differently my song would ring
If for gentiles I would sing,
Not in Yiddish, in "Jargon,"
That has no proper sound or tone.
It has no words for sex-appeal
And for such things as lovers feel.
Yiddish has but quips and flashes
Words that fall on us like lashes,
Words that stab like poisoned spears,
And laughter that is full of fears,
And there is a touch of gall,
Of bitterness about it all.

•

This is the first of three of essays on Yiddish Literature, drawn from a longer study which will appear in A Treasury of Yiddish Stories, *to be published by Viking next fall.*

Roosevelt & Daniels

MORE than nine years after his death, people are beginning to cool off a little about Franklin Roosevelt. Some of those who hated him are now willing to concede that perhaps he was a member of the human race after all, and his idolators are starting to admit that he was not, always and in every particular, perfect. In both directions, this revision is healthy.

The End of Innocence, by Jonathan Daniels (Lippincott; $5).

With the calmer contemplation has come a willingness to look at his career as a whole, and not just its last half. When he returned to public life after his dreadful bout with polio, it was as though he had risen from the dead; people tended to forget the fact that from 1913 to 1920, he had been Assistant Secretary of the Navy and as such, had played an important part in the dramatic events of the First World War. His chief was Josephus Daniels, the North Carolina newspaper editor, and two men could hardly have been in sharper contrast.

In 1913 Daniels was 51, Roosevelt was 31. Daniels had proved himself by nearly 30 years of successful editorship, Roosevelt was a bright young man whose first claim to fame, and many people thought, his last, was his cousinship to Theodore Roosevelt, who in 1913 was out of public life and fuming at Oyster Bay.

Daniels came of respectable but plebeian stock; Roosevelt was the scion of generations of Hudson River squirearchy. Daniels belonged to the liberal wing of the liberal Democratic party and the Puritanical Methodist Church; he saw eye to eye with his good friend, William Jennings Bryan, on pacifism, divorce and prohibition. Roosevelt was a high spirited young patrician with Tory principles in most matters, including the use of alcohol; if he leaned politically very far toward either liberalism or conservatism, nobody could discern it.

Daniels was far more typical of the Wilson Administration than was the young Roosevelt. Characteristic of that Administration were not only Daniels as Secretary of the Navy and Bryan as Secretary of State, but the liberal Cleveland pacifist, Newton D. Baker, as Secretary of War. It would be hard to find a more extraordinary trio to take this country through a war which was the greatest military struggle the world had ever seen. (The anomaly was too much for Bryan, who resigned rather than sign a truculent note to Germany about the sinking of the *Lusitania.*)

It was of course inevitable that the three lovers of peace (or four, if you include President Wilson whose abhorrence of war was equal to that of his Cabinet members) should be bitterly criticized by those who were pro-Ally, not only for the failure to take America into the war as soon as it began in August, 1914, but for not going fast enough in preparing American men, munitions and ships as we drew closer to the brink of conflict. Daniels came in for some special added abuse. He was popularly believed to have insulted the traditions of the sea by ordering "right" and "left" to be substituted for the historic "starboard" and "port." (Actually, the order had been prepared before he took office, and was signed by his sea-loving assistant, FDR.) He raised an even worse storm by his action in abolishing the wine mess, though subsequent Secretaries of the Navy tacitly approved his order by failing to cancel it. He wanted American sailors given a chance to educate themselves and even to become officers, contravening the fine old tradition of illiteracy and strict adherence to the caste system in the British Navy, on which ours was modelled. All these things caused apoplexy in the Navy League, the self-appointed guardians of our maritime destiny; but worse was to come. When American steel makers, who had always worked closely with the League, conspired to rob the Government by exorbitant collusive bids on steel, Daniels broke the cabal by threatening to buy abroad.

While the war was in progress, the critics were necessarily muzzled, but with its end, they exploded in new fury. A Republican-dominated Congress tried hard but in vain to find culpable behavior on Daniels' part. Admiral William S. Sims, diehard enemy of the Wilson Administration, charged that tardiness in mobilizing full American naval strength had "prolonged the war four months, and occasioned the loss to the Allies of 2.5 million tons of shipping, 500,000 lives and $15 billion." The Sims charges, like the others, exploded into nothing, a cotton puff on the wind of commonsense.

During these dramatic years, the relation between Daniels and Roosevelt was a curious and fluctuating one. It has been the fashion with some Roosevelt biographers to insist that FDR did all the good things of those seven years, sometimes over the opposition of his fuddy-duddy superior, sometimes, necessarily, behind his back. Roosevelt himself in later years absent-mindedly took credit for a number of good deeds and repudiated bad ones, erroneously in many cases.

Jonathan Daniels, son of Josephus,

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was 11 years old at the beginning of this era, only 18 when it closed. He went on to be one of the ablest journalists not merely of the South but of America, warm friend of FDR and for several years his administrative assistant and press secretary. But truth is truth and there is also such a thing as filial loyalty. In this book he shows by the record that his father was a far better Secretary of the Navy than most people have been willing to believe, and that the high spirited, coltish young Roosevelt was not always loyal to his chief, or candid with him, or right in what he wanted to do. The picture is gently drawn—so gently that he gives no aid to the Roosevelt-haters, nor will he unduly disturb the late President's partisans.

Josephus, he makes clear, loved as a son the tall, tireless, handsome young man with the winning smile and the spate of ideas that were almost always very good or very bad. What the young FDR thought of his chief, we shall never be sure; he wrote Josephus a farewell letter which could serve as a model of affection and respect, and there is no need to probe behind the record.

Beyond all this, Jonathan Daniels has written a beautiful and sympathetic portrait of the era in American life which, as he says, saw the end of our innocent parochialism. It is full of nostalgic detail about a time which seems like centuries ago rather than a mere four decades; it has much of the quality that Margaret Leech gave to her wonderful study of the national capital in Lincoln's time, *Reveille in Washington.*

Newspapermen know everybody; by the accident of his occupation this reviewer met and talked with most of the men with whom this book deals, and knew some of them well. The portraits in all cases seem authentic. It would be clear, even if he did not mention the fact, that the author has supplemented his boyhood recollections with exhaustive research. In his final chapter he steps out of his reportorial role to make a fine declaration of faith that the historic American radicalism of which so many figures of the Wilson era were exponents is not dead and gone, is on the contrary more needed today than ever before. He is right, and I don't see how he could have said it better.

BRUCE BLIVEN

The Private Citizen

DAVID RIESMAN'S peculiar function in our social life is to puncture our conformities as they bubble up. He has one of the keenest pairs of eyes among our sociologists; to this he adds the conviction that social science *must* concern itself with values, and that the whole phenomenon of conformity, or overconformity, is as much of a danger to our republic as cowardice.

Mr. Riesman's earlier book, *The Lonely Crowd,* explored rather fully what it means for our society to have shifted from the cult of individualism to the cult of "groupism." This shift has not taken place uniformly all over the country, but where it has it tends to make people ask "Am I liked?" instead of "Will I succeed?"—a difference which makes old stereotyped responses to education, business, and social life inappropriate.

Individualism Reconsidered, by David Riesman (Free Press; $6).

The present volume, *Individualism Reconsidered,* a collection of essays and lectures from the past eight years, explores many angles of our civilization, but is always concerned with what is happening to individuals under these subtle new pressures. No one is more aware than the author of the ambiguities of such a task as his. Since he is interested mainly in freeing people from pressure, he wants to contribute his ideas just to the spots where they will actually liberate, but there is no way of focussing an idea on a narrow target, so Mr. Riesman has to face the problem that the unshielded X-rays of his thinking may burn as well as heal. A small specific instance of these double consequences occurred at the University of Chicago, where he is a professor. Being a strong believer in the vitality of American culture, Mr. Riesman wanted to challenge the assurance among certain students that no good movies ever come out of Hollywood. He says he had to stop in the middle of his talk, fearful from the young people's rapt and serious faces that his charge would only mean to them another burden, the burden of "having" to extract cultural values from their next Saturday night's entertainment.

Obviously few lecturers are as sensi-

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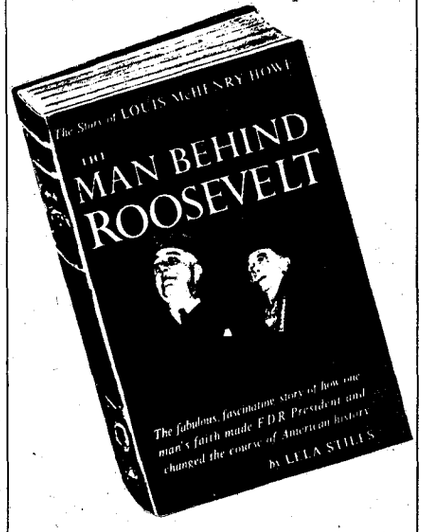
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tive as this to their audiences, or see around as many corners of their subject. Among the prevalent ideas which Mr. Riesman questions in his book is the notion that we must make work more "meaningful" and pleasant — for he wonders if it wouldn't be more to the point to make it short and efficient. He attacks those who insist that everyone should be active politically—it is enough for our country if those who happen to like it practice politics, while for others political apathy can save time for many valuable private concerns and in totalitarian countries apathy may be the only effective means of sabotage. He has an essay suggesting that Jews can spend their time better than in fighting anti-Semitism. And he includes studies on reading, music, football, aging and Freudianism in our culture. (His own rereading of Freud is especially perceptive.) In most of these subjects he discovers ambivalence—even in our new virtues, such as "sincerity." In days of rigid etiquette, sincerity was extolled as unattainable; now, Mr. Riesman points out, it may be practiced so ferociously as to break down many decent reserves. Characteristically, he finds, the modern *opportunity* to be sincere a good thing, but urges us not to push it too far lest it wound more than relieve.

Thus Mr. Riesman is truly in that great western tradition which has for centuries striven to put the individual in the spot of first importance, whether as a soul to be saved or as a citizen for our state to protect. The reconsidered individual, as Mr. Riesman sets him up for today, would be a man who makes real choices, on the basis of real insight. He must, therefore, not have pressures greater than he can bear either from society outside nor from "guilt" within. He would have intense private passions and concerns which would involve him so fully he would not want nor need the superficial joviality which decorates so much activity today—though of course his work and love would probably involve other individuals and even groups. He would have a highly developed "nerve of failure," which is here defined as the ability to envision possible destruction of his hopes and life work without being himself destroyed or made to feel guilty thereby. He would expect other people to differ widely from himself in interests and involvements. One thing only might pull him outside his own concerns, or in exceptional times even draw everybody into political life—a hatred of cruelty and destructiveness.

The ideal society to complement this individual would demand mostly short term, limited services from its citizens. A most tragic modern fate can befall the person who has become so group-minded that, with true slave mentality, he sacrifices himself to the group willingly.

It is apparent that a certain psychological sophistication is expected from the readers of these pages. Thus Mr. Riesman is quite matter of fact about assuming that "guilt" inhibits freedom quite as effectively as tyranny. He does not try to explain the mechanism whereby contemporary social pressures may cause a person who is not "well liked" to feel unconsciously guilty—but rather he explores the consequences of that guilt in social life and private happiness. Obviously the naïve solution to this guilty feeling is to bury oneself ever more completely in the group—and this, our author shows effectively, is no true solution, but only leads to those peculiarly modern forms of "anxiety" about which we hear so much.

So much for individualism. What we ought to have to supplement these studies is a reconsideration of groupism, by someone with as much penetration, imagination and style as Mr. Riesman. For him, indeed, it sometimes sounds as if groups and individuals were inevitable antagonists, whereas in sober fact a large number of students and practitioners are even now working on the problem of how groups can be used to bolster individuality as well as to create things in their own right.

In the right set of circumstances a group can cure a sick soul and can give something ineffable to a healthy one. In fact, fellowship of a certain sort has always been considered so fine a flower on human experience that the fathers of the Church considered it to be *par excellence* the gift of the Holy Spirit. A man of Mr. Riesman's parts has undoubtedly experienced such fellowship, but for one reason or another he fails to consider the possibility that working directly on the quality of our group life is one perfectly plausible method for the reform of our society.

PRISCILLA ROBERTSON

THEATRE

IT IS PROBABLY established by now that Bernard Shaw was an artist. His plays have come to be accepted as plays. A member of the youngest generation might be at a loss to know how they could ever not have been considered so. The structure seems so much firmer, the dialogue so much brighter than anything of these latter days; nor can the total product be placed in any dreary pigeonhole. "To combine a mirror-like exactness of character-drawing with the wildest extravagances of humorous expression and grotesque situation"—Shaw defined his own art in defining that of Dickens. Do we realize even today how far from Naturalism Shaw always was? Contrasting himself with Archer, he wrote in the 90's:

> To me the play is only the means, the end being the expression of feeling by the arts of the actor, the poet, the musician. Anything that makes this expression more vivid, whether it be versification, or an orchestra, or a deliberately artificial delivery of the lines, is so much to the good for me, even though it may destroy all the verisimilitude of the scene.

I selected this particular quotation from the many in my notebooks because it stresses the theatrical side of Shaw's art — a side which may tend to be neglected as the memory of Shaw's association with the actors recedes. I shall commemorate the birthday he never commemorated by a brief note on this association. [GBS was born 98 years ago today—on July 26, 1856.]

The history of the modern drama begins with Shaw the actor. As he records:

> . . . At the first performance of *A Doll's House* in England, on a first floor of a Bloomsbury lodging house, Karl Marx's youngest daughter played Nora Helmer, and I impersonated Krogstad at her request with a very vague notion of what it was all about.

Yet the acting he stood for was not the kind most of us associate with Ibsen:

> In a generation which knew nothing of any sort of acting but drawing-room acting, and which considered a speech of more than 20 words impossibly

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long, I went back to the classical style and wrote long rhetorical speeches like operatic solos, regarding my plays as musical performances precisely as Shakespeare did. As a producer I went back to the forgotten heroic stage business and the exciting or impressive declamation I had learnt from old-timers like Ristori, Salvini, and Barry Sullivan.

Shaw's piece on the actor John Hare is the classic analysis and destruction of the "cup-and-saucer" or "garden party" theatre of Naturalism. His pieces on Forbes Robertson recall Hazlitt's on Kean: here analysis is the handmaid of admiration, and great acting is preserved for posterity in great words. Whoever would play Shaw's Caesar must remember that it was written for Robertson.

Garden parties are attended also by ladies. Shaw found the Victorian actress even less acceptable than the Victorian actor. Perhaps the quickest way of indicating her character is to say she resembled Dickens' anemic heroines. Shaw described her as "the brainless-susceptible woman" and called for a "clever-positive type" to replace her. It would be more accurate to say that he had *met* the clever-positive type. One of the leading actresses in this vein was Florence Farr, successively mistress to Shaw and Yeats. Another was Henry James' friend, Elizabeth Robbins; a third, Janet Achurch, wife of a prominent Fabian.

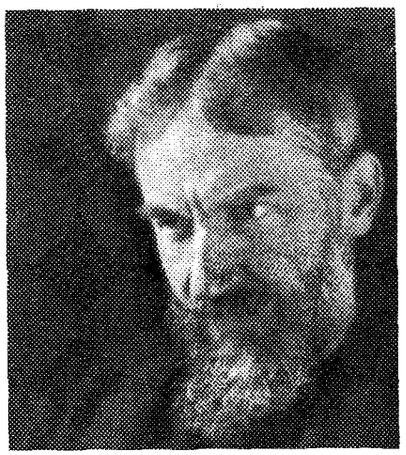
Perhaps the only place where the theatres of Ibsen and Shaw meet is in such actresses. Victorian women couldn't act either Ibsen or Shaw; these post-Victorians might logically go, as Florence Farr did, from one to the other. We shall never know which helped Shaw more, Ibsen or the actresses who played him.

Yet there were better actresses than these. Shaw saw them; and formed his notion of what woman could be on the stage from them: famously, Mrs. Patrick Campbell and Ellen Terry. Though he knew Mrs. Campbell better —in the ordinary senses of the verb to know—I am inclined to think that Ellen Terry meant much more to Shaw the artist. Mrs. Campbell he only fell in love with; he was having the measles of the middle aged; but Miss Terry he adored—as we very properly say, "from afar"; that is to say, from an aisle seat and a writing table. She was the lodestar, the *ewig weibliche;* if Mrs. Campbell "is" Orinthia in *The Apple Cart,* Miss Terry is not only Lady Cicely in *Captain Brassbound,* she is the spirit of woman as it is found, mischievously or benignly, through all Shaw's *oeuvre.* She is also Shaw's Idea of an Actress—though the expression is too abstract to suggest the kind of inspiration which a creator of great roles for women can derive from a woman playing great roles. (When *Fanny's First Play* came out, everyone talked of *votes* for women; today we'd say: What *roles* for women!)

Mrs. Campbell

Miss Terry

To know something of the performers Shaw saw or worked with or both is to learn something about the characters he created and also of the fullness of his interest in the theatrical medium. That he mastered that medium has been questioned not only by the generation that dismissed him as a "publicist, not an artist," but also by some theatre people since. I have heard a leading director describe Shaw as "dead on one side"; Edith Evans says that he showed himself, in rehearsal, to be an "awful ham"; and *Misalliance* was said to have succeeded last year at City Center because it was re-interpreted in a highly un-Shavian light.



GBS

It can surely be admitted that there are theatrical values which find no place in a Shavian play, but of what playwright could that not be said? Is Molière dead on one side because he didn't write *Phèdre* too? I can believe Dame Edith to be right—if she means that Shaw was not a trained actor and was therefore clumsy in his demonstrations. But still, if he got his meaning through to the actors, I think it would be premature to assume that there are people who know how to do Shaw better than he did himself.

Admittedly, you can make a difficult artist easy by removing the difficulty. The problem of acting Shaw is to render the speeches; to cut them is mere evasion. As for jazzing Shaw up, he is extravagant enough in the first place; he acknowledged being mischievous *to a fault;* this is therefore an element to play down. Shaw's instructions to actors and producers make it quite clear that he saw the key to successful performance not in production ideas (gimmicks) but in the long training of the actor, especially training in speech:

> Every consonant should have a ten-pound gun hammer spring in it, also great rapidity and certainty of articulation. . . . What is wrong is that you do not hold your part against him. You take his tone, you take his speed. . . .

Otherwise, we are back again at the point from which Shaw started: the littleness of Victorian farce. "I missed," he wrote of one performance,

> . . . the big bones of my play, its fortissimos, its allegros, its precipitous moments, its contrasts, and all its big bits. My orchestration was feeble on the cottage piano; and my cymbals were rather disappointing on the cups and saucers.

ERIC BENTLEY

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FILMS

MOVIEWISE, the distinction between disinterested amateur and calculating professional broke down long ago. You have to prod the intelligentsia to remind them, but good films *have* been made in Hollywood with half a million dollars or more, and very bad ones have been made out of bounds with only twenty thousand and personal integrity. Cast a cold eye or open your heart which may be as big as a whale: you'll not make a good movie unless you know the craft.

Good intentions butter no parsnips; neither do they result in *montage*. Yet the Cinema Club constituents ignore *Martha Ivers, Act of Violence* and *They Live By Night,* wherein the masterful thing was done in The Middle of It All at Great Expense, while reserving the attribute "genius" for mavericks who construct clichés on their own simple terms.

In *Louisiana Story,* produced with a negligible expense account, Robert Flaherty (who had once done important things) was not above working every ounce of cuteness from elements which would have been sneered at as "surefire" (a boy, a racoon and a bayou with *kitsch* music) if they had been composed west of Pasadena. And now, on a budget even more modest, and on premises even less risky, Joseph Burstyn has produced *The Little Fugitive,* a film as American as pancake syrup and just as corny. The critics (of the consumer-research level of appreciation) have decided it must be significant because it was made so inexpensively, and any film not made in Hollywood (but preferably in the USA) deserves promotion. (So who is arguing?) It's a heart-warming phenomenon: every Neighborhood Theatre Mom plunking down her admission (and two at half-price, please!) to squeal in delighted agreement with The Critics. What could be more "universal" than a somatatonic seven-year-old from Brooklyn on a lone rampage at Coney Island?

Well is it *Saturday Evening Post* or is it art? Depends what's done with it. Out of the nettle, conception, we pluck this flower, treatment. Ray Ashley and Morris Engel may have begun by following a kid around Coney, photographing his strategies and his expressions, discovering suddenly that they had material for a full-length film. Why not? It's a good way to start. So they added some episodes and slapped on a beginning and an ending, without feeling the whole thing through.

Maybe it didn't happen that way, but that's the effect: unplotted, unrehearsed, awkwardly cut, with momentary beauties that suggest lyrics of audio-visual artfulness with form and humor and interrelations never realized. What we get, finally, besides the archness and a lot of surface action across the body-infested sands, are some good single frames which probably rate inclusion in the *US Camera Annual*: view from beneath a pier looking out to bright sand, so that figures in the middle ground, catching the dark values, look like cut-outs; a formal pattern of boardwalk shadows barred with sunlight and the boy wandering off over it; early morning shot of the vast empty beach with a few wire waste-baskets punctuating the desolation.

But the total effect is morally neutral. What statement, we ask, is being made, in what terms? What is the point of Joey (the fugitive) having been told he has killed his older brother? Is it anything but a "gimmick" to get him off to Coney Island? Why is there nothing in the texture of his experience that relates to his presumed misdeed? We can hardly construe this inconsequence by reference to *Forbidden Games,* where the irony arises from the child's ignorance of terror until in the last scene the whole frightful business is driven home to her. And if it's unfair to depreciate this film by comparing it with René Clements' masterpiece (or with *The Fallen Idol* or *Le Garçon Sauvage*), it is surely acceptable to compare it with *The Quiet One* (also made on a non-Hollywood budget, though I suspect it cost twice as much as Burstyn's release). In this Meyers-Loeb film, a simple story-curve of a boy with a feeling of rejection who sets out dumbly to avenge himself by misdemeanors becomes almost an adventure of the soul. When the small truant reaches the climax of his negation and flight by fleeing through a railroad tunnel, you may consider this a Freudian symbol or just a life-symbol; in either case you have an event that is crucial, both in the screenplay and in the cycle of the boy's experience. It is something like this—something, at any rate, as deep as this—that *The Little Fugitive* never achieved. Quite apart from its incompetence as edited continuity, the film fails to make of its scene a microcosm.

Perhaps I'm kidding myself. Perhaps its authors are realists with no thought in their heads about art. Perhaps they just wanted to make a movie that would cost next to nothing and earn next to fortune and to hell with subtle effects.

If the mass audience will buy it anyhow—what price the skills of montage? . . . Say this for them, at least; they had the courage to get their working material from a common receptacle of human experience near at hand, without faking its prose unduly. It takes even more courage to make a poem.

VERNON YOUNG

Notes on the Critics

IRVING HOWE is on the English faculty of Brandeis University. His most recent book is a study of William Faulkner, which appeared in 1952. ELIEZER GREENBERG is a young Yiddish poet. PRISCILLA ROBERTSON is a historian, and the author of a book on *The Revolutions of 1848.* ERIC BENTLEY is the author of a book on Bernard Shaw. VERNON YOUNG is a frequent contributor to American literary journals.

MAGAZINE

A GRAMMAR OF VIOLENCE—lead article on the Semantics of the literature of violence in the current issue of ETC., official journal of Int'l Society for General Semantics, edited by S. I. Hayakawa. Read how language forms limit thought, behavior. $4 year; trial issue $1. Write Dept. 22, 400 W. North Ave., Chicago 10, Ill.

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CORRESPONDENCE

► Point of Order

I strongly disagree with Willard Robinson who took exception (*NR,* July 12) to President Eisenhower's request for $103,000 to maintain "public order" during the American Legion's Convention in Washington. Mr. Robinson doubts if the Convention is worth more than 5c to the taxpaying public.

It is worth somewhat more. Despite the mass attack on our nation's capitol, and the encouragement which will be given to "point of order" Joe by the comrades, the Legion Convention will, nevertheless, act as a purgative to the District.

Legion orators will succeed in making Mundt-Knowland-Dirksen- and even Mr. Nixon appear to be moderate statesmen. Legion resolutions will call for a hundred billion dollar "bonus" appropriation and then a cut in taxes. Legion spokesmen will call for the severance of diplomatic relations with England, France, all of Asia and probably an H-Bomb attack on the UN itself. They will of course, oppose social medicine, social welfare legislation, social security and the teaching of social sciences in the public schools. And most likely, the Legion orators, in full bombast, will call for the ouster from the government of all perverts, as well as introverts, extroverts, and just to be sure, ambiverts.

Yes, the Legion Convention will be a worthwhile spectacle. The final result will be that President Eisenhower, Adlai Stevenson, Senator Paul Douglas, Governor Mennen Williams and about 30 Congressmen will all be mighty proud that they are members of the AVC.

MICKEY LEVINE
National Vice Chairman,
American Veterans Committee
Washington, D. C.

► Parity and Fair Prices

Usually I can agree fundamentally with T.R.B.'s views analyzing the action "on the hill." However, his recent paragraph on the farm program in the July 5th issue has come as a great shock to me.

As I understand the Benson-Eisenhower plan of flexible supports, it would lower the price of our product, which is wheat. If this is true, then it would be necessary for us to increase our production to keep our present income. This in turn would result in adding to the so-called "surplus." I must take issue with him when he implies that the Benson-Eisenhower program will stop the piling up of surpluses. It seems to me, it will do just the opposite, and Congress will have an even greater problem to face.

According to the *US News and World Report,* the farmers are getting 13 percent less for what they sell now, than they received a year ago. For our product, wheat, the figure is 8.9 percent less, and yet, we haven't seen any drop in the price of bread.

Another interesting figure published by the Department of Agriculture shows that a basket of food costing the housewife $20 would bring the farmer $8.94, leaving "a spread" of $11.06. If Benson is the "honest, simple Secretary of Agriculture" T.R.B. believes him to be, surely he would have this difference between the price the farmer receives and the retail price investigated, as investigations seem to be the order of the day in Washington. He would also urge that something be done to increase consumption among the lower income groups.

Our farmers out here in the West, the small family operators, are only concerned with getting an adequate living and having a chance to remain on their land. This the 90 percent parity price support program has granted them in the past.

MRS. MELVIN GOOD
Floweree, Montana

► American Influences in Italy

Your issue of June 21 carrying the article on Rome by Frank Gorrell just caught up with me. I, too, have seen the influences of an invasion of American moving pictures and American style advertising.

But, I hasten to add that by far the greater portion of Roman life remains fully Italian. American films have their best circulation in the spring and summer months when the demand is for a lighter fare. In the winter, the Italian and French films receive much wider showing.

Those companies which use American advertising techniques are for the most part American companies in Italy. True enough, the Italian state tobacco monopoly uses American sounding names for its cigarettes in order to give the impression that Virginia tobaccos are used. Outstanding Italian companies like Marzotto, Olivetti, Fiat, Necchi, etc., use anything but American style advertising.

VINCENT R. TORTORA
Rome, Italy

BANDWAGON

A few days ago an ironworker, his wife and the family dog were driving through North Kansas City after a visit with relatives in Clinton County.

This ironworker has a hobby. He likes to take snapshots of construction projects he has worked on and has an album full of such pictures at home. Some of them go back to 1925. Because the man had worked recently on the A.-S.-B. bridge, he wanted to add a likeness of that venerable span to his collection. He stopped the car, walked under the northern approaches and clicked his camera twice. Twenty minutes later he was at the Kansas City police headquarters answering questions. Two patrolmen who had witnessed the picture-taking saw in it a sinister hint of spying or sabotage.

The ironworker was questioned for about an hour. The FBI ran a check on him. His film was confiscated with the promise that it would be developed and returned. In the meantime, his wife and dog waited in the car outside headquarters.

Now these are dangerous days we live in and we suppose the patrolmen should be commended for their alertness. But the old A.-S.-B. bridge has stood over the Missouri River since 1911. It has survived two World wars and Korea. Its picture has been printed scores of hundreds of times.

Maybe the ironworker should be chalked up as a minor casualty of the cold war. But when a citizen can't take pictures of a 43-year-old bridge without being picked up by the law, perhaps some of us are looking a little too excitably for Russians under the bed.

And the ironworker, six days after the experience, still hadn't recovered the film. Most of the pictures, he says, were of a great-granddaughter, taken up in Clinton County on the Fourth of July.—Kansas City *Star,* July 12, 1954.

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Political Weather-Man on the Potomac

The big winds that blow across the Potomac in Washington, D. C., don't always affect the US political climate. Often, the innocent breeze or the small cloud have far more political meaning.

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